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TWO GERMAN PUBLICISTS ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

It is always interesting for an American to learn by direct testimony that the old world knows that the new is in existence. Half the pleasure of foreign travel lies in seeing Europe, the other half is in hearing what Europe thinks of you and your like and the land you come from. And the experience is none the less interesting when it comes second-handed and relates to an America and a Europe a century and a quarter behind us. Indeed the letters of men who did not know they were reporters to an editor who did not know he was an editor, in an age when public opinion was an infant whom any petty prince felt free to belabor, are as fascinating in their way as any that Stanley or Kennan ever wrote.

To anyone who is interested in Europe, especially Germany, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the magazines of that day with their statistics and geography and literary history and voluntary contributions on all subjects but politics, spell out an interesting chapter in the history of journalism and of public opinion before the French Revolution.¹

But we must not expect too much from them concerning America. Europe to-day with America a "world power," has not yet come to fill its magazines and newspapers with news from the West, and America in the eighteenth century was more distant than Thibet to-day. And were we much more important than we are now, it would have required something besides the eighteenth century German journal (one might say the twentieth) to impress that fact on the German reading public of 1776.²

¹ Cf. on the history of German journalism, L. Salomon, *Geschichte des deutschen Zeitungswesens*, etc. Oldenburg, 1899ff. Other material of a more special character is listed in Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde*, etc., Nos. 2123-2124 and Nos. 8330-8336, seventh edition, Leipzig, 1906.

² On the general subject of the essay cf. H. P. Gallinger, *Die Haltung der deutschen Publizistik zu dem amerikanischen Unabhängig-*

Schiller's view that you must make men for the constitution before you make a constitution for men applies to newspapers. There must be the public made for newspapers, not only a public but all the appurtenances and opportunities for the collection and distribution of news and certainly Germany where as late as 1850 the Prussian ministers wished to close the mails to the newspapers—their distribution being held no proper part of the postal duties¹—must not be too harshly judged if its eighteenth century journalism was not effective.

The century itself was unpolitical and unhistorical. Savigny condemns it for its lack of all sense or feeling for what was great and unique in other ages and its disregard of the natural development of peoples and constitutions.² Petty despots and greater ones like Joseph II of Austria and Frederick the Great had no conception of the freedom of the press. Personal lampoons the larger sovereigns might allow, because strong enough to despise them, but secrecy was the impenetrable veil they drew over all affairs of state. Woe to the journalist within or without their lands who wrote of forbidden things. If he did it within Prussia, for instance, the police had him; if he did it in Cologne, the great king spent his good ducats to pay a thug who caught the journalist in a back alley and taught him that the sceptre reaches as far as the pen.³

keitskriege, 1775-1783. This is a Leipzig dissertation published at Leipzig in 1900. Also Bancroft, *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, chs. XXXI and XXXII (edition of 1878), and Schlosser, *History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. III, and an article by James Hatfield and Elfrieda Hochbaum in *Americana Germanica*, III, 338-386. 1899-1900. The article is entitled 'The Influence of the American Revolution upon German Literature,' and has a good bibliography. Cf. Also J. G. Rosengarten, *Sources of American History in German Archives*.

¹ *Archiv für den deutschen Buchhandel*, III, 1-2, and V, 769ff.

² Savigny, *Vom Beruf unserer Zeit für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft*, p. 4. Cf. also Wenck, *Deutschland vor Hundert Jahren*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1887, 1890, and L. Levy-Bruhl, *L'Allemagne depuis Leibniz*. Paris, 1890.

³ Cf. article by J. G. Droysen, *Die Zeitungen im ersten Jahrzehnt Friedrich des Grossen*, in *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch. und Landeskunde*, Vol. XIII, p. 1-38, and article by E. Consentius, *Friedrich der Grosse u. d. Zeitungscensur in Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. 115.

Schubart, whose *Deutsche Chronik* we shall have occasion to notice at length, wanted to fill his journal, not with local gossip, but with statistical information and its discussion; but when he sought to execute his plan, to use his own words, 'Men threw their hands above their heads and exclaimed, 'What, reveal the affairs of state!' 'As if,' contemptuously adds Schubart, 'the national affairs were state secrets. As if every country did not suffer in general, more from the ignorance of its authorities and citizens concerning its real activities than it would from the use a neighbor or rival might make of the knowledge publicity gave it. Year out, year in, they must simply record the court gossip and trivialities that interest no one. 'He has arrived from Potsdam and has left for Potsdam. This one is made colonel, that one is made corporal.' Such is the news,' Schubart says, 'you may expect to find in the Berlin newspapers.' One feels obliged to add that he is writing in 1776. 'The rest that we should so much like to know comes under the rubric of state secrets about which my tailor knows as much as I do.' What is the use of writing always about things that you understand either not at all, or only in part. You hear the bells ring and you do not know what it is all about. What is the good of this everlasting hanging in reverential silence and adoration before the cloud enveloped magnates.' But Schubart, though he urged his correspondents to seek long and hard for news, closed his instructions with words suited to the age: 'Beware. Touch not the anointed. Their crowns are electrical and lightning flashes from them at the moment of contact.' With this condition before us, we must not expect too much concerning America from the journalist in a land that did not know itself. Schubart it is again who warns us against the limitations of his countrymen. 'Germany is the land least known in Germany. We have absolutely no idea in any province what is going on right at our boundaries. The Swabian scarcely knows the Bavarian, nor the Bavarian the Austrian. The Saxon has the strangest ideas about what is going on in Brandenburg, and

the Brandenburger's ideas of Hanoverian affairs and the Hanoverian's about other provinces are equally hazy."¹

Liberty and light, the harbingers of intelligent public opinion, had failed to break a path through the German political jungle. The free cities of the religiously divided South were as fearful of untrammelled discussion as their princely neighbors. Schubart's journal started in Augsburg, and in one of the earlier issues he concluded a statement of his aims with this sentiment: 'And now like the German who was leaving London, I throw my hat in the air and shout, Oh England, just this hat full of your spirit and freedom.'² Shortly after this, a local alderman of Augsburg rose in his place and said, 'A vagabond has crept into our midst, who desires for his worthless sheet a hatful of English freedom. Not a nut shell full shall he have.' And Schubart moved on to Ulm there to become the victim of a still harsher oppressor of free thought.

There was but one place in Germany where a man could get a hat full of English freedom,—where he did get it, even though a journalist. That spot was Hanover. The man who was driven from Augsburg to Ulm, and from Ulm to nine years of prison life, looked enviously northward where his colleague Schlözer, the Göttingen professor, was gathering and publishing what he chose. 'If one could always publish such interesting news as Schlözer does in his *Briefwechsel* it would be a pleasure to read newspapers.'³

The government of the Regency in Hanover was most mild and tolerant, and undoubtedly the connection with England had tempered whatever of harshness it was in the power of the governing aristocracy to manifest.⁴ The new epoch in the dynastic greatness of the House of Brunswick had been signalized by the founding of the University of Göttingen, an event in itself almost an epoch in German history. As the house of Hohenzol-

¹ Cf. Article by Trost in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Politik* V, 839ff. These words are in *Deutsche Chronik*, Nov. 2, 1775.

² This is in the first issue of *Deutsche Chronik*.

³ Schubart in his *Deutsche Chronik* quoted frequently from Schlözer's periodical.

⁴ Ford, *Hanover and Prussia*, 1795/1803, 1-48, New York, 1903. A. W. Ward, *Great Britain and Hanover*, 1-35, London, 1899.

lern had its Halle with its Thomasius in the decade of its rise to royal power, so the House of Brunswick had its Göttingen with its Schlözer. The University founded in 1737 was given a greater degree of academic freedom than was common in the older German universities dependent on petty despotic princes. This freedom was proudly guarded and well repaid. Further Göttingen had been founded with an idea of making learning and practice synonymous. As a result Göttingen was the alma mater of almost all north Germany's prominent men at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. It was the cradle of the science of statistics and gave to history a veritable renaissance. Its whole spirit made it a shrine for the worshippers of freedom of thought. Well might the lovers of free thought say with Schlözer, '*Extra Göttingam vivere non est vivere.*' German public opinion is the offspring of the University of Göttingen and the foster child of the French Revolution. In its nurture among the names and service of Göttingen professors such as Spittler, Pütter, Rehberg, Brandes, Schirach, Gertauer and Lichtenberg the name and service of August Ludwig von Schlözer stands by common consent pre-eminent.¹

Schlözer was born in 1735 and trained at the University of Wittenberg for a theological career.¹ Coming to Göttingen to finish his studies he widened his interests and activities. Travel and residence as a teacher in Sweden and Russia gave him, when accompanied by his tremendous power to work and readiness in absorbing information, a breadth of knowledge approaching universality. Medicine, natural sciences, law and political science had been added in his post graduate years, so that when he was called in 1770 to a chair at Göttingen he was equipped as are

¹ On the University of Göttingen, cf. Dahlmann-Waitz, *sup. cit.* Nos. 2057 and 8467. For an account of the German Universities including Göttingen in. 1789. cf. article by Fester, *Der Universitäts-Bereiser Fr. Gedike und sein Bericht an Friedrich Wilhelm II in Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, IV, *Ergänzungsheft I*. Gedike made a seven weeks' trip to look over professors and University conditions at fourteen different non-Prussian universities.

² Cf. Christian von Schlözer's biography of his father: *A. L. v. Schlözer's öffentliches und Privatleben aus Originalurkunden*, 1828, and

few men in any generation. His deserved success as a teacher came from the freshness and vigor of a man who combined knowledge of the world with knowledge of books. Here was a man who had traveled and seen things and made these travels supplement his lectures. Hundreds of students flocked to hear his lectures on history and statistics. However, teaching was but a part of the activity of this professorial Charles XII. Journalism was the field of activity that interested him even more strongly than scholarly research—a field in which his contributions mark an epoch in historiography. He was in a way a reformer and publicity was his pole star. With his experience as a traveler, his wide knowledge and his great circle of acquaintances, he was well qualified to start a journal and it is these magazines, the *Briefwechsel* and the *Staats Anzeigen*, that possess perhaps the greatest importance of all his literary work. It is the *Briefwechsel* which furnishes the material for this study of Schlözer's views on the American Revolution.

This magazine, '*Briefwechsel meist historischen and politischen Inhalts*,' was published at Göttingen from 1776 to 1782, ten volumes in all. It appeared on an average about six times yearly. It was in a certain sense to serve as a text book supplementing his lectures—to supply details, give sources and make accessible material of value that might otherwise be lost. It was to be free from polemics and contain no book reviews. Schlözer's own reading and his extensive correspondence easily furnished enough material and the magazine reached the unprecedented circulation of 4,400 copies¹ and yielded Schlözer an income only exceeded, as a literary man, by those of Goethe and

the article in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. The treatment of Schlözer in volume two of R. von Mohl, *Geschichte und Literatur der Staatswissenschaften*, 3 vols. Erlangen, 1855-58 is very suggestive. See also Wegele, *Geschichte d. deutschen Historiographie* and H. Wesendonk, *Die Begründung d. neueren deutschen Historiographie durch Gatterer und Schlözer*. Leipzig, 1876, also *Göttinger Professoren: Ein Beitrag, etc.*, Gotha, 1872. This is a group of brief essays. Cf. the one by Waitz, pp. 231-260.

¹ K. Th. v. Heigel, *Deutsche Geschichte vom Tode Friedrichs des Grossen bis zur Auflösung des alten Reichs*, I, 85. Stuttgart, 1899ff.

Kotzebue. Princes offered themselves as contributors. The Duke of Saxe-Meiningen offered to write so that he might help forward enlightenment and toleration and expose and banish evil and ignorance.¹ Crowned heads read and profited by its columns;² petty despots trembled when its issues appeared, and warned their youthful subjects to beware of Göttingen where Schlözer taught. It was something new in Germany to see these tyrants getting their just deserts in print, and the nation came more and more to see that 'unlimited publicity is the most righteous judge.' Hard, vigorous, fearless, dictatorial and ruthless, Schlözer struck right and left, unconsciously rousing a force which when it grew strong enough frightened the man who had stamped it out of the ground.

Schlözer in his many sidedness is such a fascinating figure that one is tempted to linger on other features of his character and career, but justice to the phase we are to consider, his activity as a journalist as shown in the *Briefwechsel*, compels me to hasten on.

The material on America in this periodical may be divided into four classes: I. Statistical, i. e. population, debt and war expenditures. II. Historical, such as quotations from Petrus Martyr on the discovery of America, excerpts from Hakluyt and an interesting description of the project of 1669 for creating a new Germany in South America. III. Controversial, the translation from the French and English of pamphlets and articles replying to such statements of the American case as John Adams had made at the Hague. To the controversial matter one might add the foot-notes with which Schlözer occasionally accompanies his correspondents' contributions. IV. This group is descriptive, being mainly the letters written to Schlözer by his soldier correspondents in the new world. An examination of this material should enable us to determine Schlözer's views

¹Heigel, *sup. cit.* I, 85-86.

²Maria Theresa is said to have disapproved an action of her Privy Council accompanying her veto with the query: 'Was würde Schlözer dazu sagen?' Cf. Wenck, *Deutschland vor Hundert Jahren*, p. 101.

and the impression his magazine would be likely to give a constant reader—two things not necessarily the same.

With the exception of Schlözer's foot-notes, and one reply to Adams, almost all the material in the first three groups (statistical, historical, controversial) is in the first two volumes of the *Briefwechsel*, the volumes for 1776 and 1777 and with almost the same exclusiveness in grouping, all but three of the letters are in volumes four to ten of the *Briefwechsel*.

In examining the first group, the statistics, we are pointed in the direction which Schlözer has taken. The few tables bearing on the relations between the mother country and her colonies mass figures to show what her expenditures have been for them in the French and Indian war¹ and again for the whole period during which the House of Brunswick has been on the English throne.² These figures are taken from a French translation³ of: 'The Rights of Great Britain against the claims of America, being an answer to the Declaration of the General Congress' (2d edition). They show clearly, according to Schlözer, that the millions of pounds paid out by the government is in no way returned to England by the much overestimated colonial commerce. And as to the much complained of tax on colonial rice and tobacco, it yields the mother country little and is, in any case, paid by the consumer. The views here expressed are consistent with Schlözer's generally hostile attitude toward popular movements and popular causes—they are distinctly his own—and the fact that he had to draw his figures from French translations of the English propaganda further indicates that he owed nothing to the English government for his information or his views.⁴ That accuracy was never subordinated to partisanship with Schlözer is evidenced by his se-

¹ *Briefwechsel*, I, 113.

² *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 110-112. By provinces and years,—two tables, 1714-1715 inclusive.

³ The French translation by Freville appeared at the Hague.

⁴ Schlözer evidently had the first English edition of the pamphlet. Cf. note *Briefwechsel* I, p. 112. He criticises both French and English editions for differing in the summaries of their two tables.

vere criticism of the errors of the translator of the French edition which he used and of the first English edition which he evidently had seen.

When the collection of the statistics depended upon his own efforts he was equally careful. His figures for the losses of the German mercenaries (11,853) stood until Kapp, on the basis of archival material, revised them to 12,562.¹ To the statistics should be reckoned perhaps the list of American generals and their former professions sent him he says by reliable persons. Arnold was a horse dealer, Knox a blacksmith, Putnam a hotel keeper, Green a debarred lawyer, General Mitchell a bankrupt and a convicted perjurer.²

The historical material is hardly important for our purpose, except perhaps Schlözer's own statement of the four periods of American history.³ I. 1492-1584, is characterized by Spanish and Portugese discovery and settlement in the Indies and South America. In its closing years tobacco and potatoes begin to be used in Europe.

II. 1584-1660 Beginnings of French and English colonization. The slave trade increases. Sugar, tobacco and indigo are the chief products. As a result Germany's agriculture declines.

III. 1660-1762 Final partitions between European powers; the treaty of Utrecht which is of epochal importance as it founds English power in America. Coffee and rice are added to products. Brazil gold and diamonds are exported. The slave trade is pursued by all. The traffic in German indentured servants begins in the English colonies.

IV. The period since 1762 is marked by the supremacy of Great Britain in North America.

The noticeable thing in this division is the use of an economic earmark to distinguish the periods and it is possibly both

¹J. G. Rosengarten, *Sources of American History in German Archives*, p. 5. In the *Briefwechsel*, II, 4, foot-note, Schlözer gives proof of his love of accuracy when he says: 'With documents one must copy mistakes.'

²*Briefwechsel*, VII, p. I. Cf. also V, 195.

³*Ibid.*, II, 227-231.

his political economy and his patriotism that help explain Schlözer's attitude toward the colonies. The New World's raw products and free land then, as now, aroused any public man who thought Germany should be developed along all lines and who held that at least some of her governments were so good that no German needed to cross the ocean to find freedom.

The controversial matter in the *Briefwechsel* outside of Schlözer's few lines of comments on all sorts of articles is comprised in seven or eight translated articles or pamphlets scattered through ten volumes. Two of the heaviest productions are by a Dutch pamphleteer named Pinto who lives in the Hague and publishes in French. The first of these is a twenty page argument against the colonial views to which Schlözer adds some of Franklin's testimony in 1776 justifying Pinto's charge that the whole tortuous argument of the colonists on taxation is *logomachy* and that their position in 1776 is just the reverse of that assumed by their attorney ten years before.¹ Pinto's next production is a political prophecy concerning America: 'I believe first that America will sooner or later, in whole or in part become independent of Europe. But I do not think the proper moment has yet arrived.'² Then he cites the strength of the loyalists and the localization of the leadership and discontent in New England. The colonies are not in harmony and no foreign power will come to their aid. Pinto by the way was accused by one of Schlözer's rival German journalists, Büsching³, of being in the pay of Lord North, but his reply and the testimonials as to character were willingly published by Schlözer in a later issue of his magazine. The other heavy articles are a plan of reconciliation translated from the English⁴ and letters from a Boston correspondent of Montcalm's in 1757 showing that rebellion was planned then, but giving a strikingly favorable view of the

¹ *Briefwechsel*, I, pp. 29ff.

² *Ibid.*, I, 103-104.

³ On the position taken by Büsching's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten* (Berlin, 1773ff.) cf. Gallinger, sup. cit. pp. 63-64.

⁴ *London Chronicle*, 1777, Apr. 22-24. Here translated supposedly from the French.

New England colonial government. The other politico-controversial material includes an extract from testimony at the trial of Hill, the Portsmouth incendiary, in which the witness makes Silas Deane, the American agent, the paymaster of Hill for his foolhardy act.¹ Otherwise it is a negligible quantity in determining Schlözer's views or the impression his readers might gather about American affairs. Such material as I have cited—omitting his references to Spanish America and Russian America—certainly does not make Schlözer's *Briefwechsel* an anti-American propaganda. However, it shows by its character where Schlözer stood as to the legal and constitutional questions involved. To him the Americans by their constantly shifting objections had convicted themselves of mere logic chopping and proved that they had no adequate conception of the relation which they sustained to the mother country.

'There is no freedom where there is not subordination, and the bright prospects of greater liberty now held forth by enlightened monarchs will be blighted if what has been granted is misused.' The words are those of Pinto whose pamphlet Schlözer translated for his *Briefwechsel*, but the sentiments are Schlözer's. One of the unforgivable things to Schlözer's mind was the violence and chicancery of the colonial leaders,² who through intimidation were bearing down the loyal element in the colonies. Power must rest somewhere and it had better be in the hands of the sovereign than in the will of the mob. This is the essential idea in Schlözer's political philosophy, and it is revealed clearly in the foot-notes which are the nearest approach to an editorial that Schlözer allowed himself. He accompanies the exposition of the Boston town meeting given by Montcalm's supposed correspondent with the following all sufficient revelation of his own views:³ 'The mob (*Pöbel*) is a child, enjoys the present apparent good and does not look into the future for distant consequences. Patriotic non-partisanship is a most ex-

¹*Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, 343.

²*Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, 383.

³*Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, 202-203.

tremely improbable assumption in considering the masses.' The above correspondent is an admirer of Democracy and 'commits the oft corrected mistake of all eulogizers; government is to him slavery and democracy, freedom, as if there could not be in democracy the worst of slavery. I shudder at the thought of a monarchical Asiatic despot, for to me the idea of despot means that one of every ten is a monster. But terrible to me is the democratic despot, plurality, the people or the Janhagel. From the rage of the former there is some appeal in desperate times but who can tame the people. Look for instance at the history of Boston at the end of the preceding (the seventeenth) century. Those who declaim against the government and shout for the so-called freedom, take it for granted that as a rule those who administer the government are unenlightened and self-seeking and that here all the members or the most of the members of the Democracy are enlightened and patriotic beings. If either one of these premises is improbable it is certainly the latter. Penetration and love of humanity are not the heritage of the great majority of the race. To consider a whole people—a million human beings—as an aggregate of practical philosophers is contrary to all psychology and all history: 'The assembly or guardian of the mob speaks,' says the writer above. 'It is possible that they have spoken unintelligently or viciously. 'The people have spoken.' Then it is probable that out of three decisions, two are uninformed or evil.' Schlözer then preferred the unenlightened despot and certainly such a rule as the Georges gave Hanover in its mildness and toleration might compare favorably with any country in the eighteenth or first half of the nineteenth century. Such utterances left no doubt as to where Schlözer stood and his authority was incomparably greater at that day than any other German publicist—his 4,400 subscribers within and without Hanover gave him a power in moulding public opinion such as few German journalists have ever wielded. But we must remember that these few brief utterances were contained in the first two volumes of the *Briefwechsel*. Before we can determine the impression the magazine

gave of American affairs, we must examine the fourth group of material it contained: the descriptive.

Schlözer published some twenty-one letters from correspondents in America. Nineteen of these¹ have been translated entire by W. L. Stone, the New York local historian and biographer of Sir Wm. Johnson.² They extend over the period from Nov. 2, 1776, to July 4, 1779. About one-half of them, nine, are from the camps of the German mercenaries. All but four were evidently written to Schlözer with a view to their publication—many of these clearly at his request or in answer to letters of his. Their frequent allusion to letters Schlözer says he never received from them and their inquiry for news written them three months before illustrates the uncertainty of the mails of those days. These letters are generally of a descriptive character, relating either to the country, camp life or the incidents of war. None of them deal with the constitutional and legal questions involved. But the new land and its people, white and red, are the main themes, evidently sometimes because these are the topics Schlözer had asked them to write him about. Properly pieced together they give some idea of how the country from Quebec to Savannah impressed the soldiers or more properly the officers and chaplains of the German mercenaries.

The correspondents are evidently intelligent, fair minded and dispassionate. They write of the country in almost the tone that might have been used by an attaché in the suite of Prince Henry. I doubt very much if the letters of our French allies were any more favorable to us.

What is said of the colonists is first of all they are splendid specimens of manhood physically: 'large, handsome, sin-

¹ The omitted letters are in the *Briefwechsel*, I, 206 and 217.

² W. L. Stone, *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers during the American Revolution*. Albany, 1891. Cf. on the general subject of the German auxiliary troops in the American Revolution, E. J. Lowell, *The Hessians in the Revolution*; G. W. Greene, *German Element in the War*; J. G. Rosengarten, *The German Allied Troops in the War of Independence*; Baroness Riedesel, *Letters and Memoirs relating to the War*; and Fr. Kapp, *Geschichte des Soldatenhandels nach Amerika*, Berlin, 1874.

ewy, well built, strong and healthy men."¹ No humbled foe ever paid a fairer tribute to his conqueror than the captured Brunswicker who wrote of Burgoyne's surrender: 'We passed the enemy's encampment in front of which all their regiments as well as the artillery were standing under arms. Not a man of them was regularly equipped. Each one had on the clothes which he was accustomed to wear in the field, the tavern, the church and in every day life. No fault, however, could be found with their military appearance, for they stood in an erect and soldierly attitude. All their muskets had bayonets attached to them, and their riflemen had rifles. They remained so perfectly quiet that we were utterly astonished. Not one of them made any attempt to speak to the man at his side; and all the men who stood in array before us, were so slender, fine-looking, and sinewy, that it was a pleasure to look at them. Nor could we but wonder that nature had created such a handsome race.' Then he goes on to comment on their stature. 'Captain, who was chagrined at not having succeeded in obtaining recruits among these people, will corroborate me in this statement. I am perfectly serious when I state that the men of English-America are far ahead of those in the greater portion of Europe both as respects their beauty and stature.'²

'The determination which caused them to grasp a musket and powder-horn can be seen in their faces, as well as the fact that they are not to be trifled with, especially in skirmishes in the woods. Speaking seriously, this entire nation has great military talents.' 'It must be said to the credit of the enemy's regiments, that not a man among them ridiculed or insulted us; and none of them evinced the least sign of hate or malicious joy as we marched by. On the contrary, it seemed rather as though they desired to do us honor.'³ The tribute he pays to 'the American king,' John Hancock, is equally fair and frank and interesting, for it shows the American politician of the eighteenth

¹ Stone, pp. 89-90.

² Stone, 128-129.

³ Stone, 131.

century among his constituents. 'He (Hancock) looks to all appearance worthy of the position he holds as the first man in America. Moreover, he is so frank and condescending to the lowest, that one would think he was talking to his brother or a relative. He visits the coffee houses of Boston where are also congregated the poorest inhabitants, men who get their living by bringing wood and vegetables to the city. Indeed he who desires to advance in popularity must understand the art of making himself popular. In no country does wealth and birth count for so little as in this, and yet anyone can maintain the position given him by fate without being in the least familiar with the lowest.'¹

All considerations of John Hancock and his greatness, all tributes to the conquering woodsmen, pale before the two pages of praise of the American girl. She is all that is fair and frank and attractive in face, form, dress and manners. She is quick of wit, nimble of foot, neat and graceful in carriage, with a skin free from disfiguring pock marks; and her shoes were mentioned then, as they would be today, as one of the marks distinguishing her dress from her European sister.² But his glowing periods fade before the simple statement that 'the fair sex were the cause of our losing some of our comrades—'³ One day when he was at rest this correspondent took occasion to reflect and to jot down two things which particularly struck him, things which might be used by unkind people to prove the continuity of history. I give his own words: 'The first of these was the evident mastery that the women possessed over the men. In Canada this power is used by the women to further the interests of the men; but here it is used nearly to ruin them. The wives and daughters of these people spend more than their incomes upon finery. The man must fish up the last penny he has in his pocket. The strangest part of it is that the women do not seem to steal it from them; neither do they obtain it by

¹ Stone, 157-158.

² Stone, 138-139.

Stone, 140.

cajolery, fighting or falling into a faint. How they obtain it—as obtain it they do—Heaven only knows.’ In fact this German humorist thought he saw the patriots obliged to end the war if prices for finery continued so high and the women’s Sunday clothes wore out. ‘.....Should the mother die, her last words are to the effect that the daughter must retain control of the father’s money-bags.”

‘The second thing which attracted my attention was the negroes. From this place to Springfield few farm houses are met with that do not have one negro family..... Take it all in all, slavery is not so bad.” Not all the picture is cast in such highly favorable lights, for, tired with the march in mud and rain across the state of Massachusetts, he found Great Barrington people unhospitable and churlish. ‘A rougher and more spiteful people I never saw.” Palmer ‘is a miserable hamlet,” and Greenfield ‘dismal enough to silence the most disobedient child by threatening to send it there if it did not behave itself.” At Springfield where group after group of country people filed through their rooms without knocking for admission he concluded because the houses had been opened to them that ‘the people were tolerably kind but damned inquisitive.”

The Philadelphia people with their fire insurance written up to 1993’ and their insufferable conceit about the city and the country and its great future⁸ come in for another correspondent’s criticism but he ought not to be taken as seriously as he did his informants when he goes on to say that he has never met anywhere with more crazy people than in this town.’ Only yesterday while dining with a gentleman a third person came into the room and whispered in my ear, ‘Take care, this gentleman is

¹ Stone, 141-142.

² Stone, 142.

³ Stone, 144.

⁴ Stone, 149.

⁵ Stone, 145, cf. also 174.

⁶ Stone, 147.

⁷ Stone, 224.

⁸ Stone, 226.

a madman!' The truth is, however, that nearly all the people are quietly mad—a sort of mental aberration caused by a compression rather than a heating of the blood. Very often the people are cured. One of the reasons for the extraordinary state of affairs is that none of the necessities of life possess the same nutritious properties as our own.¹ A prisoner in the Piedmont region of Virginia bewails the lack of good neighbors but testifies that 'real gentlemen, however, can be met with nearer to the coast, who are very rich and jovial and own well furnished houses of fourteen rooms or more. These extend hospitality in the noblest manner, often keeping a stranger with them for three weeks.'² But the mild complaint that he is forty-two miles (German miles?) from this type of gentleman is that of a prisoner of war pampered by the privilege of keeping his own garden,³ raising his own poultry for use and sale and attending a country theatre built by his fellow prisoners. These theatres gave two performances weekly with the aid of three sets of scenery and a drop curtain bearing the legend 'who would have expected all this here?—parquette tickets \$4.00 (paper) and parterre \$2.00.'⁴ Prisoners so treated might well be expected to repay their captors with an appreciative word to the German public.

What Schlözer's correspondents told Germany of the people, the New World rebels, was even at its best not more favorable than the things they wrote almost uniformly about the New World itself. Without exception they find something impressive in the woods or skies or mountains or lakes or the great gateway harbor of the new and strange land. Not all regions are equally praised but the German reader must have felt as even the present day American reader feels, that he would like to see with his own eyes the people and the land that impressed the soldier reporter so profoundly.

¹ Stone, 215. He goes on to comment on the unnutritious food, half grown animals and vegetables. *Briefwechsel*, III, 149ff.

² Stone, 181.

³ 'These German gardens are a great attraction for visitors from even sixty or more miles away.' Stone, 182.

⁴ Stone, 182-183.

They view the economic possibilities of the country, its climate and resources, with almost equal favor. Only one letter is divided between praise and blame and only one speaks of any region in unmodified tones of disapproval, that is a letter from Savannah, Georgia. Of the nineteen letters, seven are so short or so taken up with military events that they reveal no views of land or people. Of the remaining twelve, one half are favorable in their comments on the people; of the other six, three are combinations of praise and blame in what they say of the Americans themselves to whom they regularly refer as rebels except when the colonists had made them prisoners, and then, perforce, their captives were Americans and not rebels or Yankees. That leaves but three letters which in their casual allusions to the colonist—for they are not labored views of the American character—express derogatory opinions of them and these opinions are not bitter, nor are they unjust.

The letters in the earlier volumes from the soldier who tells the story of Burgoyne's dash at the center show him received courteously by the Americans, tell of the French officers who loaned him books, of the Prussian officers in Gates' army who greeted his uniform as the insignia of a former brotherhood in arms. They tell of comrades who as prisoners have gone out to work on farms or at their trades and have given over the English service for the pleasanter and more profitable pursuits of peace¹ and of still others who have come to see through some Yankee girl's eyes that America is the land for young men—and women.²

One of the last volumes gives space to a still more impressive statement of what America might offer to the capable in the way of opportunity. Baron Steuben tells in a letter to Privy-Counsellor von Frank, July 4, 1779, what the new world is doing for him as well as what he is doing for it. 'Oh my dearest Frank, why have I wasted my years in such a manner? Two years of work—if one is not afraid of toil and danger—can make a man

¹ Stone, 159-160.

² Stone, p. 140.

successful. Experience has convinced me of this nor can I forgive myself for my past indolence. What a beautiful, what a happy country this is! Without kings, without prelates, without bloodsucking farmers-general, and without idle nobles. Here everybody is prosperous. Poverty is an unknown evil. Indeed I should become too prolix, were I to give you an account of the prosperity and happiness of these people.¹

These are sentiments, views that read even in extracts, give after all a favorable impression of the new country, excite greater curiosity to hear more of it, to see it, to know how its people are coming out in their struggles. They are creditable to the colonists—even more creditable to the writers and leave one with a very good impression of the intelligence, justice and humanity of the officers commanding the German mercenaries, certainly of the Brunswick contingent. To this may be added the unfavorable view they take of the Indians as auxiliaries. In referring to Joseph Brant's desire to raise a band of Indian auxiliaries for the Burgoyne campaign, the German soldier says: 'God help those colonists who are their near neighbors, should this scheme be carried into effect.' They do not gloss over possible shortcomings of the Hessians for one correspondent reports a rumor that 'they have massacred the colonists in a terrible manner,' giving no quarter to the conquered, 'because the rebels refused to grant an exchange of prisoners.'² But the same writer (evidently) says of the detachment sent into Vermont, 'In all truth we are human and kind enough to these unhappy people though the rebels act in a brusque and barbarous manner toward those of their neighbors who manifest a friendly feeling toward us.'³ He later says, 'they behave like hogs.'⁴ The same writer does not overestimate the royalist party as he might be expected to do. He simply says, 'one-sixth at the utmost are royalists, one-sixth neutral, four-sixths are rebels.'⁵

¹*Briefwechsel*, VII, 327ff. Stone, 249.

²Stone, 83.

³*Ibid.* 89.

⁴*Ibid.* 179.

⁵*Ibid.* 88.

Another writer details the dissensions between the Hessians and English, leading to a duel between two officers in which the Englishman was killed.¹ All the letters that attempt to deal with the land show evidence of studied observation and effort to get reliable information where things could not be seen. Sketches and drawings were made for future use,² but these are lost so far as we know.

The result of this consideration of Schlözer's periodical can be briefly summed up. An examination of the *Briefwechsel* leaves no question but that its editor was opposed to the colonists in their struggle, but contrary to the general view, it convinces me that the material furnished in the sixty issues was on the whole likely to put the colonists in a favorable light before the intelligent German public.

In the second publicist we turn to a region fully as interesting and unique in its liberties and spirit as Hanover. Swabia with its free cities, even though they were in patrician hands, and the estates system of Würtemberg, had kept alive in its citizens its political life. At its doors was Switzerland, and Zurich was the centre from which spread enthusiasm for liberal institutions. The Swabian was loyal to two ideas; Swabia which existed for him despite its political divisions, and the idealized political empire. The best exponents of the institutions of the old empire were Swabians—Daft, Häberlin,³ Spittler, and the two Mosers—the first great prophets of the new united Germany, Schubart and Schiller, were born in Schwabenland. The University of Tübingen was the Göttingen of South Germany and Posselt and his *Annalen* were another such a force as Schlözer and his journal. It is worthy of note in passing that Hanover and Swabia had joined hands in the work of spreading liberal modern views. Spittler, the Göttingen historian and colleague of Schlözer, was Swabian by birth and training, and despite the warnings of Duke Charles of Würtemberg Swabia's youth flocked

¹Stone, 185-186.

²Stone, 176.

³Häberlin's *Staatsarchiv* deserves to rank with Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*. Häberlin was professor at Helmstadt.

to Göttingen. 'Half the students (at Göttingen)' writes a contemporary, 'are Swabians.'¹

The Swabian cosmopolitanism, unpolitical love for nationalism and poetic enthusiasm and bitter disappointment in the face of eighteenth century despotism is nowhere better illustrated than in the life and work of Charles Frederick Daniel Schubart.² It is peculiarly fitting, it seems to me, that North Germany is represented by a Hanoverian, who is a college professor and a trained publicist and that the representative of the Southland is a Swabian, a poet and a son of the people. Schubart is known as the forerunner of Schiller and one of the chief representatives of the *Sturm and Drang* period. But no less important is his work as a journalist and prophet of nationalism. He spent his early life in the South German city republic of Aalen,—an imperial town whose sturdy citizens stoutly maintained its independence and democracy. The fiery and impulsive boy was naturally enough interested in his father's life work, music, and later, impressed by a fragment of song from Klopstock, he turned with equal fervor to poetry. Always a lover of intercourse with people in the walks of every day life, his first efforts as a poet were folk songs. One thing his education in Nürnberg and at the University of Erlangen failed to give him was self-control and an orderly and systematic way of thinking and living. Poetry and music, love of the good and the beautiful, raised him above the mass of his fellows but they did not prevent him from indulging in all the debt-making and dissipated living of the most riotous student. This soon ended his university career.

For a while he was in turn preacher, composer, litterateur, musician and tutor. Finally the little imperial city of Geislingen near Ulm gave him a position which combined teaching

¹ Lichtenberg as quoted by W. Lang, *Von und aus Schwaben*, p. 106. Augsburg, 1885-1890. Cf. also Ad. Wohlwill, *Weltbürgerthum und Vaterlandsliebe der Schwaben insbesondere von 1789-1815*. Hamburg, 1875. Particular attention is called to the notes and references at the end of this interesting little work of Wohlwill's.

² For a brief account of Schubart with references to the literature consulted by the writer cf. Vogt und Koch, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur*, Vol. II, 249ff, and 546-547. Leipzig, 1904.

in the schools with that of city director of music. Moderate success encouraged him in further self culture and the encouragement of Wieland, who recognized his poetic talents, confirmed his interest in literature. Here too, began, in a minor way, his journalistic activity. Transferred, to his great joy, to Ludwigsburg as organist, he was soon the centre of its musical and literary circles. But the old faults returned when he found his associates among the officers of the garrison. Thoughtlessness and rashness in publishing satirical poems helped with Schubart's reckless life to give Charles Eugene of Württemberg such an unfavorable impression of him that in 1773 Schubart was banished from Württemberg. Leaving his family, Schubart wandered from city to city, a homeless adventurer. He made friends everywhere. Max Joseph of Bavaria in the belief that Schubart was to turn Catholic, engaged him in the work of reforming the Bavarian schools brought into disorganization by the expulsion of the Jesuits. But when reports came in from the inquiries made in Württemberg, Schubart was again sent on his travels.

A book dealer in Augsburg induced him in 1774 to assume the editorship of a journal, '*Die Deutsche Chronik*.' This occupies him for the next three years. They are among the best and most creditable in all his stormy life. As has already been pointed out, Augsburg drove out his paper two months after it started—undoubtedly the result of Jesuit influence—and three months later the magistrates compelled Schubart to follow his printer to Ulm.

*Die Deutsche Chronik*¹ which Schubart edited from March 31, 1774, to January 22, 1777, is in the first place one of the best magazines as to paper and print that I have ever handled. It appeared semi-weekly, on Mondays and Thursdays. The

¹In *Americana Germanica*, Vols. IV and V (1902-3), John A. Walz has excerpted and published the utterances of Schiller, Wehrlin and Schubart on the American Revolution. He has given the material almost no setting and in the case of Schubart he has missed many characteristic utterances which if not bearing directly on the Revolution are necessary to an account of Schubart's views and his place in the development of German public opinion before the French Revolution.

subscription price was three florins a year. It had a circulation of about 1,600 copies—mostly in South Germany, though a few copies reached London, Paris, Amsterdam and St. Petersburg. Its definite aim was to give a chronological account of the most important political and literary events. As the editor could make no promises what his mood or views would be, he left them for the readers to determine. He admitted that it was a desperate venture to attempt to edit a weekly when ‘one man wants fire, another water, one prefers a bass drum, another a bag pipe.’ ‘It seems almost impossible, under present conditions in Germany, to edit a good political periodical. Whenever a bold thought rises in the journalist’s mind he must cast a weather eye at public warnings, then he becomes timid and indifferent. That explains the monotonous tone of many a newspaper man who is now rocking politicians to sleep in grandfather’s arm chair.’ ‘We have many newspapers; that is true enough. They fly over Germany like snowflakes in an April storm. Nevertheless, it is not about their numbers that one can complain, but much more their poor quality. Most of the journalists act on the false principle of judging the times according to their philosophy instead of shaping their philosophy (*System*) according to the times. Every event that swims in the stream of time is taken as a new proof of their political and literary prejudices and before they know it, prejudice is enthroned on their writing desk. Others pay so much attention to titles and rank that you can’t read an article without disgust.’ ‘Some newspapers’, Schubart admits, ‘are good and well informed. Such are those in Hamburg—Altoona and Zweibrücken. But the timidity of most journalists is to blame for their failure to discuss their own country or to speak of it in panegyrics solely and then they seek revenge for this compulsion by harsh treatment of foreign lands. It is often the misfortune of the best journals that they have to quit publishing. I cannot refrain here from sighing profoundly and—remaining silent.’²

¹*Deutsche Chronik*, July 2, 1774.

²Again in the *Deutsche Chronik* for August 25, 1774, Schubart ends a summary of news from Württemberg: ‘Könnte dir noch vieles

The one thing that Schubart's journal expresses distinctly is the author's unfailing interest in the theme of national unity. Day in, day out, he preaches and exhorts and encourages those who despair of the good cause. But in politics Schubart was a dreamer and enthusiast without a single definite idea as to how his dreams were to be realized. He eulogizes indiscriminately Frederick the Great and Joseph II as German national heroes and remains to the end of the chapter naught but a poet in politics, unconscious of the coming centuries of conflict between Prussian egoism and Hapsburg dynastic self-seeking. A poet and a prophet, too. I cannot refrain from quoting here the vision given him of a united Germany: 'Weep not, oh son of Germany, over your countrymen's frailty and love of the foreign things. The lions are waking from slumber, they hear the eagle's scream, the beat of his wings, his battle cry. They are rushing forth as did the ancient Teutons from their forests. They will reconquer ravished lands from the foreigner's power—the fertile fields and vine—embowered hills are ours once more. Over them rises a German imperial throne in whose shadow the border lands cower in terror.'

The American struggle was for Schubart as for many another admirer of England, a sore trial. He could not understand why a nation so wise and self-restrained had allowed itself to come into such an embarrassing situation. Schubart's enthusiasm for freedom and nationalism and something new in the world made him an advocate of the colonial cause, though frequent lapses into unstinted praise of England rob him of the right to be called a consistent supporter of the colonies.

The material in the *Deutsche Chronik* admits of no such classification as that in Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*. It is infinitely

sagen, Bruder, aber die Sonne brennt mich. Leb' wohl!' Yet Schubart comments favorably on an ordinance extending the censorship of the press. Cf. article by Trost, *sup. cit.* p. 847.

¹ *Deutsche Chronik*, 1774, p. 418. The treatment of his theme by F. W. Behrens, *Deutsches Ehr—und National Gefühl in seiner Entwicklung durch Philosophen und Dichter, 1600-1815*, (Leipzig, 1891) is inadequate. Levy-Bruhl, *L'Allemagne depuis Leibnitz* is very suggestive.

more interesting in a way because most of it bears the stamp of Schubart's personality. It is as though one could see him at the public house with ink pot and beer can before him, editing as he loved to edit, with his every day friends, the common folk, around him.¹ Though his acquaintance was wide, he had no such a list of correspondent reporters as Schlözer.² Most of his news came either from Paris or London—generally from London from whence friends wrote him.

With all of his contempt for the German enthusiasm for foreign things, there was one foreign land to which he was devoted. England was the political ideal of the German liberals and nationalists in the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century.³ Here in contrast to the unlimited monarchies of the continent was constitutional government. Schubart like other political dreamers of his age was England's enthusiastic admirer. 'Who among us,' he exclaims, 'does not dress his face in the robes of reverence when he pronounces the name of England—angel land.' 'Land where the patriot may call on freedom, a silver note to the ear, a light to the reason, a stirring in the heart, an inspiration to thought. Englishmen have a heritage such as no other people has had nor probably will have. The Englishman's ideas extend almost into infinity. Greatness is the hall-mark of his plans and he has God-like strength to execute; his are a profundity in research and an almost unattainable good spirits.....and they dare with unbending courage to speak truth before the bar of justice or at the foot of the throne.'⁴

All news from London is, of course, pro-English as the news received from Paris pro-American. He had correspondents

¹The unconventionality of Schubart's methods is illustrated by the captions he chose: 'Nachtisch—Reader, eat as much as you like.' 'Da hast Du alles neue in einer Schlüssel,' 'Politischer Trödelmarkt,' 'Etwas Konfekt,' etc., etc.

²A son of Häberlin, the able editor of Häberlin's *Staatsarchiv*, was one of his correspondents. Cf. *Deutsche Chronik*, Aug. 21, 1777.

³Cf. article by Walz in *Americana Germanica*, 1901, p. 92ff.

⁴*Deutsche Chronik*, May 2 and July 14, 1774.

among the German mercenaries but they did not serve him as faithfully as Schlözer's. In one instance the same man evidently reported for both.¹ Instead of an occasional article on America there is hardly an issue that does not give some space to America. In many cases the article on America takes precedence over that on Germany which Schubart had announced would always stand at the head of his columns. Over and over again he apologizes for this by saying that every one is absorbed in the news from America. 'Nothing in all the world is so talked about and discussed.' And so he hastens to lay before his readers everything that he can learn about the struggle. Sometimes it is a letter, sometimes it is a clipping, most generally a vigorous comment of his own though frequently concealed in the form of a dialogue at the public inn. Sometimes it is a vision from the year 2400 picturing the twelve colonies as ruling over all that part of the world—with America the home of the sciences and of religion pure and undefiled.²

His first article on America—the World of Columbus, defends his going outside Europe for news. 'The latest news from yonder is a prophecy that already the morning of a bright summer day is dawning. Soon our antipodes will cease to be our antipodes—nor will they be our antipodes in the matter of intelligence and good taste. They have printing presses, read and write books, understand well the science of agriculture, are used to the hardships of war and have reverence for the Supreme Being. These are the precursors of a future universal culture in America.'³ As a sample of what they can do he quotes the effusion of some Massachusetts Bay orator that for pure bombast overtops the best efforts of the Fourth of July platform. Then Schubart gravely explains why the oratory of barbaric people so excels that of the cultured. As a further proof of this supremacy, Schubart, the representative of culture, prints one of his own poems in which the dying Indian is made to hand

¹The letter from Block Island, Sept. 7, 1776, is published by Schubart on Nov. 21, 1776, as well as by Schlözer.

²*Deutsche Chronik*, April 4, 1774.

³*Deutsche Chronik*, May 5, 1774.

over to his son a wreath made of the hair of Christians, bedecked not with diamonds but with the teeth of murdered Christians—there are further allusions to cocoanut palms, altars of his fathers, a heaven where the chief's wife will hand him pine apples on a golden salver and draughts of the wine of the gods drunk from Christian skulls. Indeed this fourth reader gem leaves one with a hazy feeling that Schubart did not draw a very clear line between the red man and his white neighbor in the New World.¹ Your pride in your ancestors looks up again when a few issues later he publishes a stirring poem, '*Freiheitslied eines Colonisten*,'² and sketches the American character. 'The character of the colonists has in it something unique—a sort of pietistic heroism as though Herrnhüter and Spartan had fused. The songs with which they rally to the cause are without parallel, so mystically heroic, so much of Sinzendorf and of Tyrtæus is in them. In short when the colonists attain their goal we will have a state of a very remarkable stamp and I always rejoice when something new happens under the sun.'³ But Schubart hardly thought Washington could be compared with Paoli for whom he had no great admiration. 'Their leader, Washington, is a man between fifty and sixty, a good citizen, courteous, brave, understands war, is a good engineer, agreeable in his converse, popular, yet as strict in his discipline as a Prussian. He does not serve for money for he is rich enough himself.' Putnam is a carpenter, Lee a trained soldier, 'the rest are adventurers in whom America can put little trust.'⁴ 'If only they had an Epaminondas to lead them it would be all up with English rule in America.'⁵

¹*Ibid.* sup cit. For other poems of Schubart's on the American Indians cf. G. Hauff, *Schubart's Gedichte*, pp. 361 and 383. Leipzig, 1884.

²*Deutsche Chronik*, Aug. 10, 1775. Also in Schubart's *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV, 286.

³*Deutsche Chronik*, Aug. 10, 1775. Also in Schubart's *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV, 286, for Swedenborg's prophecy concerning America.

⁴*Ibid.* Oct. 31, 1776, and March 20, 1777.

⁵*Ibid.* Aug. 14, 1776. On March 13, 1777, his London news says that 2500 copies of a recent life of Washington were sold there at once.

The colonists are generally referred to as rebels but it is always in an honorable sense. 'The misnomer rebel in its etymological sense is not the term for the great hearted American people and it is to the shame of us Germans that we derive our views of the most important human affairs from the English official papers.'

At another time he bewails the failure of America as yet to produce any great leader. 'Their Adams' and their Hancocks are ordinary,' but the great men will soon awake from their slumber and show Great Britain what an aroused manhood can do,² while Europe sits in the sun like an old woman babbling of the past, youth storms forth in America to die for liberty.³ We Europeans have more important things: frizzing of hair, inventing snuff boxes, brass buttons and fans—that is certainly more important than fighting the battles of freedom. Believe me, brother, the Americans will certainly win their independence and according to the prophecy of a contemporary political seer, probably be by 1876 the leading free nation of the world.⁴

Nothing can be more stirring than the poetic fervor and eloquence with which Schubart in issue after issue pictures the patriots of the new world in arms for freedom.⁵ The struggle of Boston touches every heart, it is there that freedom's altar has been raised. 'To any one who loves the spirit of liberty, 'nothing could be more touching than the Battle of Bunker Hill. Undisciplined peasants under the command of a physician, Warren, fewer in numbers, poorer in equipment, awaited 'calmly the attack of Gen. Howe who led the best troops in the 'world against them.'⁶ He had already described in the issue

¹*Ibid.* Sept. 4, 1775.

²*Ibid.* May 20, 1776.

³*Ibid.* April 29, 1776.

⁴*Deutsche Chronik*, Jan. 1, 1776, and June 24, 1776.

⁵It seems strange that the Declaration of Independence did not attract Schubart's attention. In the issue for June 13, 1776, the most important news is that Congress has determined by a vote of seven colonies to five for such a declaration. Later he mentions that it was read to the army. Schubart was a monarchist and did not believe in republics. Cf. issue for Oct. 10, 1774.

⁶*Deutsche Chronik*, Dec. 21, 1775.

for July 6, 1775, how they rallied to the struggle with banners and with drums on which were inscribed '*Qui transtulit, sustinet.*' Equally vivid is the picture his correspondent gives of the confusion and dissension in London where great numbers are not only friendly but helpful to the colonists.¹ Then will come a flash in which Schubart pictures the English spirit rising triumphant over all reverses.² But only once after July, 1775, is England called *Engelland*. 'I should be glad if I could begin this year by announcing peace in America, for the complaints raised by all classes in Engelland about this war cut me to the heart, and I should like to see my dear England once more at peace and my brother Germans home again.

Sometimes his faith and enthusiasm for the colonists grows weak and he is in embarrassment when German soldiers go out to fight the colonists—shall he wish them good fortune or shall he put the interests of American liberty above the pride of nationality?³ The latter is too strong, even though he has just told how every tramp and loafer and adventurer in Germany flocked into the mercenary service, and he wishes his countrymen God-speed, and looks anxiously for the news that their bravery and military skill have turned the tide of English disaster. 'Glück auf die Reise du deutsches Heldenheer.' They will raise a monument to German bravery. My heart swells in anticipation.⁴ Later he warmly defends the Hessians against the charges of brutality and massacre. A Brunswick officer with General Riedesel writes him: 'We thought we would meet Spartans with a Leonidas at their head, but what we find is a leaderless mob of vagabonds that run as soon as they see us. They have evacuated about all Canada and have neither money, clothes nor shoes. Large numbers came over to us about starved. The officers are mostly a worthless class and ruined artisans. It

¹*Ibid.* July 27 and Aug. 7, 1775, and June 24, 1776. It is in this latter issue that he quotes from Paine's '*Common Sense.*'

²*Ibid.* April 4, 1776.

³'Soll man ihnen Glück wünschen oder nicht?' *Deutsche Chronik*, June 13, 1776.

⁴*Ibid.* Feb. 8, April 18 and May 2, 1776.

will be a disgrace to us and the English if we don't end the thing this summer (of 1776) without much bloodshed."¹

It is now that Schubart regrets the failure of the Americans to do anything comparable to the old Greeks and Romans or swiss or Dutch. 'They will not risk a great battle but under Washington and Putnam simply fortify themselves to the ears.'²

Strange to say, it is sometime before such a nationalist as Schubart comes to feel the disgrace of the traffic in German soldiers, but finally the awakening comes. 'The coldbloodedness with which we look on while the flower of German soldiery sails across the seas to whack the skulls of a people who have never offended them, is to me incomprehensible.' When a Hanoverian pamphleteer writes a brochure entitled, 'Why should Germans serve like bondsmen?' Schubart concludes a summary of its arguments with the parenthetical exclamation: 'Ah Hanoverian you have chosen a theme that rends my heart.' He follows it with the wail of Teutonia over her son slain in a foreign land and sends a greeting hail across to America. 'If thou art still there, dear sister, maintain thyself on the sun-crowned heights.'³

His farewell to the American struggle is his New Year's wish of 1777. 'How well pleased I should be if I could begin this year by announcing peace in America, for the complaints raised by all classes in *Engelland* about this war cut me to the heart and I should like to see my dear England again at peace and my brother German home again.'

Before the end of the month Schubart, like the publicist J. J. Moser, had fallen a victim to the tyranny of duke Karl

¹From August, 1776, on he begins to follow the German soldiers as a main interest. *Ibid.* Aug. 12 and 19, 1776.

²*Ibid.* Sept. 6, 1776.

³*Deutsche Chronik*, March 7, 1776.

⁴*Ibid.* Jan. 7, 1777. This apropos of the depressing letter from his London correspondent who says, 'We are in the saddest plight we were ever in. . . .' The picture of London in the early years of the war as drawn by Schubart's correspondent is that of a disorderly and divided city with the great masses opposing the government and sympathizing with America.

Eugene who at this time disgraced the throne of Würtemberg.¹ The duke had probably long cherished a dislike for the journalist who wrote of liberty and freedom and freely criticized the crowned heads of Germany. A personal difference between Schubart and the narrow-minded Freiherr von Reid who represented the government of Maria Theresa in Ulm led von Reid to plan the abduction and imprisonment of Schubart. When he sought the assistance of Karl Eugene the latter obligingly said he had a hearty grudge against Schubart that he would be glad to settle. A minion of the duke's was commissioned to lure Schubart out of the limits of the city of Ulm and seize him. This was done on January 22, 1777, and the journalist was thrown into a dungeon in the Hohenasperg. Here for a year he saw no face but his gaoler's. After the first year the prison conditions were bettered. From 1780 on he was allowed to correspond and receive visitors. Schiller among others came to see him. He had been in prison over seven years before his wife was allowed to visit him. Among the advantages to the poet of this forced separation from the world was a truer appreciation of this faithful wife and a more earnest view of life.² To this he bears testimony in the literary productions of these years, but the dominant note of his writings from Hohenasperg is the longing for freedom and hatred of tyranny. Finally after more than ten years of confinement he was released and allowed to settle in Stuttgart. Here the duke bought his poetic eulogies and stifled his complaints about past injustice by making him court poet and theater director and giving him freedom from the censor for his new '*Vaterlandschronik*.' Though the new journal sang the praises of the French Revolutionists, there is something gone from the fire and vigor of the days before Hohenasperg. Even these years were not without their troubles and anxieties, due to private and governmental criticism of his

¹Heigel, *Deutsche Geschichte*, I, 94ff.

²There is a prophetic ring to the words of Schubart when three years before in an article on this same Karl Eugene he writes: '*Die Solitüde ist nicht nur eine Pflanzschule des Soldatenlandes, sondern eine Pflanzschule der Menschheit.*' Cf. *Deutsche Chronik*, Aug. 25, 1774.

journal. Despite his bravest efforts, spirits and body failed in the summer of 1791 and Schubart succumbed to an attack of typhoid fever on October 10th of that year.

GUY STANTON FORD.

University of Illinois.